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[For additional information on the author's theoretical orientation, see Category 121.]

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[For additional information on the author's theoretical orientation, see Category 121.]

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[For additional information on the author's statistical analysis of his data, see Category 128.]

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[For additional information on linguistic theory, see Category 121.]

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121 African continuities as he acknowledged, he deplored. Slavery he regarded as a school—mostly successful—for civilizing savages."

American sociologists expressed a more clear-cut catastrophist interpretation of the black cultural experience, following the position enunciated by the Chicago sociologist Robert E. Park in 1919. According to Park, "the Negro, when he landed in the United States, left behind him almost everything but his dark complexion and his tropical temperament. It is very difficult to find in the South today anything that can be traced directly back to Africa."[11] The foremost black sociologist of the first half of the twentieth century, E. Franklin Frazier, became a leading spokesman for the catastrophist position. "Probably never before in history," he wrote in his 1939 book *The Negro Family in the United States*, "has a people been so completely stripped of its social heritage as the Negroes who were brought to America." The positive result of losing their African heritage, however, was that they had "gradually taken over the more sophisticated American culture."[12] These sophisticated restatements of part of Phillips's position reveal a certain embarrassment over the African past and the shameful experience of slavery.

•12 Sociological studies of the South Carolina sea islands followed the catastrophist interpretation of Park and Frazier. In his 1930 book *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island*, Guy B. Johnson traced the genealogy of black speech, songs, and folk beliefs mainly to white sources. "The Negro's almost complete loss of African language heritages is startling at first glance," he wrote, "but slavery as practised in the United States made any other outcome impossible." On the sea islands, "the Negro took over the English of the whites with whom he was associated, and he did it remarkably well." Gullah grammar, he said, "is merely simplified English grammar." As for songs, "the general pattern and many of the particulars of the music developed in slavery were borrowed

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from white folk music." Even "superstitions," so often regarded as evidence of the primitive African origins of black southerners, were attributed by Johnson to white sources. "A surprisingly large proportion of the Negro folk beliefs found in the South is of European descent." Other studies in the St. Helena project by Guion Griffis Johnson and T. J. Woofter, Jr. were in the same tradition."

While black scholars such as John Wesley Work, James Weldon Johnson, and N. G. J. Ballanta had claimed African origins for the Afro-American spirituals, the only white scholar who had shared that view was the music critic Edward Krehbiel in 1914. In the 1920s and 1930s a number of white scholars, including Edward M. von Hornbostel, Newman Ivey White, Robert Winslow Gordon, Guy B. Johnson, and George Pullen Jackson, had contended that the Afro-American spirituals represented selective borrowings from white folk hymnody." For the most part folklorists of the period tended to publish large collections of lore without drawing many conclusions about them. Elsie Clews Parsons collected black folklore in the sea islands off South Carolina and in the Caribbean. She refrained from inferences, but her careful annotations showed the similarity of her material to folklore collected in Africa. On the other hand, Newbell Niles Puckett, in his *Folk Beliefs of the Southern Negro* (1926), said that, while most whites believed black "superstitions" to be relics of African heathenism, "in four cases out of five it is a European dogma from which only centuries of patient education could wean even his own ancestors." The black folklorist Zora Neale Hurston suggested a more complex relationship between African and European elements underlying Afro-American folklore but was somewhat vague about their proportions."

Both Elsie Clews Parsons and Zora Neale Hurston were trained anthropologists who had studied with Franz Boas at Columbia University. Boas—eager to combat the evolution-

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INTRODUCTION

•12 ary tradition in anthropology that considered blacks to be at an earlier, less advanced level of civilization than whites—denied any enduring influence of African culture. According to Boas,

> The traits of the American Negroes are adequately explained on the basis of his [*sic*] history and social status. The tearing away from the African soil and the consequent complete loss of the old standards of life, which were replaced by the dependency of slavery and by all that it entailed, followed by a period of disorganization and by a severe economic struggle against heavy odds, are sufficient to explain the inferiority of the status of the race, without falling back upon the theory of hereditary inferiority.

12 Another Boas student, Ruth Benedict, wrote of black Americans in her book *Race:* "Their patterns of political, economic, and artistic behavior were forgotten—even the languages they had spoken in Africa." She accounted for this loss in the same way that E. Franklin Frazier and Guy B. Johnson had: "Conditions of slavery in America were so drastic that this loss is not to be wondered at."[8]

By the 1930s one anthropologist was beginning to ask if scholars might not, upon close examination of Afro-American culture, find "that there are some subtle elements left of what was ancestrally possessed." Himself a student of Boas, Melville J. Herskovits had early in his career scorned the idea that there were even lingering traces of Africa among black Americans and had doubted that there was any separate Afro-American culture. "That they have absorbed the culture of America," he wrote in 1925, "is too obvious, almost, to be mentioned." As he began to conduct comparative research in New World Afro-American cultures, he began to question his earlier position. As late as 1937, however, when

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8. Ralph Betts Flanders, *Plantation Slavery in Georgia* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1933); Albert H. Stoddard, "Origin, Dialect, Beliefs, and Characteristics of the Negroes of the South Carolina and Georgia Coasts," *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 28 (1944): 186–95. For more recent perspectives, see Betty Wood, *Slavery in Colonial Georgia, 1730–1775* (Athens, Ga., 1984); Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Rice Culture in Low Country Georgia, 1750–1860* (Knoxville, Tenn., 1985); and Clarence L. Mohr, *On the Threshold of Freedom: Masters and Slaves in Civil War Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1986).

9. Phillips, *American Negro Slavery*, p. 291.

10. *Ibid.*, pp. 3–5, 42–44, 342.

11. Robert E. Park, "The Conflict and Fusion of Cultures with Special Reference to the Negro," *Journal of Negro History* 4 (1919): 116. For an interesting perspective on conservative and radical manifestations of the catastrophist school see Orlando Patterson, "Rethinking Black History," *Harvard Educational Review* 41 (1971): 299–304.

12. E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family in America* (Chicago, 1939), pp. 21–22, 479. See also his "Traditions and Patterns of Negro Family Life in the United States," in *Race and Culture Contacts*, ed. E. B. Reuter (New York, 1934), p. 194; and his *The Negro Church in America* (New York, 1963).

13. Guy B. Johnson, *Folk Culture on St. Helena Island, South Carolina* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1930), pp. 10–11, 128, 171; Guion Griffis Johnson, *A Social History of the Sea Islands* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1930); T. J. Woofter, Jr., *Black Yeomanry: Life on St. Helena Island* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1930). For a discussion of Guy B. Johnson and his role in the St. Helena project, see Daniel Joseph Singal, *The War Within: From Victorian to Modernist Thought in the South, 1919–1945* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1982), pp. 315–27.

14. John Wesley Work, Introduction to *Folk Song of the American Negro*, ed. Frederick J. Work (Nashville, Tenn., 1907); James Weldon Johnson and J. Rosamund Johnson, *The Book of American Negro Spirituals* (New York, 1925); Nicholas George Julius Ballanta, *Saint Helena Island Spirituals* (New York, 1925); Edward Krehbiel, *Afro-American Folksongs: A Study in Racial and National Music* (New York, 1914); Edward M. von Hornbostel, "American Negro

12 so. The publication of "Empirical Foundations for a Theory of Language Change" by Weinreich, Labov, and Herzog (1968) marks the beginning of a significant focus on variation within linguistic systems. An important shift was begun from a view of linguistic phenomena in terms of only categorical divisions, with discrete boundaries, toward a view of at least some of the same phenomena in terms of continuous processes, with no clearly defined natural boundaries. In a sense, this shift may reflect a change in philosophical orientation from the Aristotelian categorical thinking which has characterized much of Western European thought to that of the more process-oriented thinking which has developed in America through the work of major philosophers like Whitehead, Dewey, and Mead.

•12 Two major models for treating such continuous processes in linguistic systems have developed since the publication of that important article; these models differ chiefly on the basis of what aspects of linguistic phenomena they continue to treat in categorical terms. The model developed initially by Labov (1969) and extended by G. Sankoff (1973), Cedergren and D. Sankoff (1974), and G. Sankoff (1974) has utilized the 'variable rule' as a central concept. The variable rule has permitted expression of systematic individual variation for some grammatical items, while maintaining the isomorphism between the grammar of the individual and that of the speech community

•12 of which the individual is a part. This model is sometimes labeled the 'Quantitative Paradigm.' The model developed by DeCamp (1971, 1973), Bailey (1973), and Bickerton (1975), in contrast, has allowed variability in the communal grammar and has permitted an analysis of the speech community in terms of individuals having different grammars, who nevertheless communicate with each other. The grammar of the individual speaker in this model, variously called the Wave Model or Dynamic Analysis, has been viewed in categorical terms. Bickerton, in particular, views grammatical rules in terms of categorical shifts from one rule to another, with possible variation only in the transition stage between an old and a new rule. DeCamp (1973) has come closest to combining the process-oriented features of both models in his suggestion that an implicational model of the type proposed in DeCamp (1971) and utilized as the basis for the Dynamic Paradigm proposed by Bickerton (1975) might incorporate certain features of the frequency analysis used by Labov and Sankoff.

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197 In the study of linguistic change in Gullah, both models have been useful in analysis of the data. Implicational scales which include information on relations of 'more or less,' rather than merely 'presence or absence,' have revealed relationships not readily apparent from frequency counts alone in some cases. Frequency data on the use of creole features by speakers carefully matched for

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age, sex, and social group reveals relationships between language use and social factors which are difficult to perceive from an implicational ranking of linguistic features alone. Both models have been found inadequate in that neither allows for both the individual variation and the communal variation which the data indicate exists in the Gullah-speaking community.

1.3 Overview

Chapter 2 will describe the speech community studied in coastal South Carolina, while Chapter 3 will discuss the field methods used in this research. In Chapter 4, a detailed analysis of three linguistic variables now undergoing change in Gullah will be presented. These variables are the pre-infinitival complementizer fE, a static-locative preposition (to), and the third person singular pronouns ee and Em. Chapter 5 discusses the social factors influencing change in these grammatical categories and concludes with an evaluation of the competing models for linguistic variation.

In the Gullah examples cited in the discussion which follows, the orthography is that which is conventional for written English except for the following symbol:

E = the sound of the vowel in bus
and the sound of the unstressed
vowel in Cuba

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121 178 African origin.[16] It seems quite clear that Sea Islanders have (with modifications) retained cultural patterns which are unmistakingly West African in origin. However, the 121 177 178 extents and directions of cultural adaptation of Sea Islander--as a consequence of the American experience--is open to question. Certainly, Sea Islanders have not assimilated the American ethos to the extent evident among northern urban Blacks, but no doubt the Sea Islands as a cultural entity is in a state of change. In warning that the Gullah dialect may be unintelligible to Blacks outside of that particular linguist community, Dalby[17] indirectly suggests that the assimilation of Gullah Blacks to mainland (U.S.) cultural norms has been slow. It seems that as more U.S. Blacks strive toward greater identification with their African heritage, the assimilation rates and the resulting cultural adaptations evident among Sea Islanders becomes increasingly important as a means of gaining retrospective insights on the processes of de-Africanization.

•12 178 The related and important question of the present investigation is whether in addition to the retention of linguistic Africanisms Sea Islanders also retain other

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[16]Elsie C. Parson, Folklore of the Sea Islands, South Carolina in Folklore Society (Cambridge, Mass.: 1923).

[17]David Dalby, "Levels of Relationship in the Comparative Study of African Languages," African Language Society (1966), pp. 171-179.

12 178 elements of their cultural heritage? On a broader level, Africanisms have been clearly cited in the music and dancing patterns of mainland Blacks. Likewise the gospel music of the Sea Islands is viewed as highly permeated with African cultural entities. In the same vein, the African features of Sea Island religious beliefs and ceremonies are well established. The African features in the dancing patterns of Sea Islanders has been noted also.

12 178 855 The survival of African Cultural traits in the family structuring and in the child rearing habits and beliefs of Sea Islanders has not been carefully researched. Data of this sort is disjointed, and comes primarily as an indirect contribution of the numerous collection of Sea Island folklores. This literature does note some child rearing features which are common to Sea Islanders and to Blacks elsewhere in the Western Hemisphere who are of West African heritage. The following are examples of these commonly held beliefs:

(845) (789) A child born with a face caul is able to see supernatural forces and is able to see visions of ancestors.

(789) (751) Charms, necklaces, bracelelets have the power to protect against supernatural affliction and to ward off disease.

(754) The hair and nails of people can be used in "conja" to bring harm. Consequently the parent warns the child not to have strangers comb hair or to cut nails. Parent may also instruct child to destroy residue hair and nails.

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Babies are passed over the coffin of ancestors during burial rites.

Children born feet first are gifted and able to manipulate binding constraints.

Children may be named according to season of birth, birth order, and of birth date.[18]

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In a more recent research effort Kiser suggests that grandparents assume a major responsibility in the Sea Island family.[19] This investigation suggests that the role of grandparents was primarily due to: (a) the migration of younger parents to urban cities while leaving behind offsprings to the care and rearing traditions of grandparents, (b) the seasonal employment patterns whereby the parent temporarily leaves the Island in search of jobs on the mainland.

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Undoubtedly these factors do act as antecedents, however, the extent to which this behavior is affected by cultural tradition has not been entertained. Hence it is uncertain whether the status accorded elder Sea Islanders and their family roles are primarily related to environmental factors or more so to the survival of West African cultural elements. There is reason to suggest that the functioning of elders in the Sea Island family and

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[18] Herskovits and F. S. Dahomey, Life in the Haitian Valley (2 vols.; New York: 1937-1938).

[19] Vernon Kiser, Sea Island to Urban Centers (New York: Columbia Univ. Press, 1932).

861 of the grandparents also reported beatings as frequent as one per week. Only children (7.1%) reported beatings as frequently as twice a week.

TEST OF THE GENERATION NULL HYPOTHESIS (H_0: $M_1 = M_2$)

•12 861 There will be nonsignificant differences in the use of physical punishment across generations. H_0: $M_1 = M_2 = M_3$.

1. The relationship under measurement was between generation membership and use of physical punishment. The same rationale for the use of questions two, six, and eight developed in the test of the first Null Hypothesis also applies here. Again question two is the direct and questions six and eight are tangential measures of the relationship.
2. Under the direct test the relationship was significant at the .01 level. The Chi Square value was 15.36, while the critical value at 4 df was 13.28. The first of the tangential measures was insignificant. The critical value at (.05) with 4 df was 9.49, while the Chi Square value was 2.96. In this case the H_0: $M_1 = M_2 = M_3$ was supported. The second indirect test of the relationship (question 8) was significant at .001. At 8 df the critical value was 26.12 while the Chi Square value was 26.37. These significance levels (.01, .001) are the basis upon which the Null Hypothesis was

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rejected in favor of the alternative H_2: $M_1 = M_2 \neq M_3$.

3. Significant generational differences in discipline behavior and attitudes were clearly noted. As a matter of fact nine of the generational relationships were significant. Five of these relationships were significant at the .001 level. It is extremely clear that the generations differ in application of and in attitudes about discipline. There were however, nonsignificant differences across the generations relative to: (a) the age at which children are no longer beaten (question 6), (b) the causes of the last beating (question 7), and (c) on the boundaries of asocial behavior (question 9).

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VARIABLE OF SEX

The relationship between the variable of sex and question two, "How often beatn for dis?" was nonsignificant at the .05 rejection level. The responses were: <u>everytime</u>, <u>often</u>, <u>sometime</u>. The critical value was 5.99 at 2 df the Chi Square was 2.11. Sixteen point two of the males and 32.4% of the females said the <u>everytime</u> reaction ratio was used by their parents. Fifty-four percent of the males and 59.6% of the females thought physical discipline often followed asocial acts. More males (29.7%) selected the <u>sometime</u> reaction ratio than did the females (77%).

The relationship between the variable of sex and

121 is predominantly English. As exemplified in the previous
197 discussion, lexicon alone does not constitute a dialect of a language. A dialect of English is a variant of the English language peculiar to a particular region or social context. In the United States dialectal variations present virtually no comprehension barrier to other speakers of American English outside of a particular region. Gullah does lack the structural intercomprehensibility afforded by dialects of American English, and consequently it can not be properly defined within the boundaries of the English language in the same manner as many English dialects.

121 Creole languages are no longer regarded as 'bastard' dialects disowned and held in low repute by linguists. Rather, they are now studied as independent language systems with inherent peculiarities resulting from their own course of development. Creoles studied in this manner allow linguists not only to examine subtleties in phonological, syntactical and morphological elements as they contrast with their superstrate and substrate sources, but also to make judgments about creole systems as they compare and relate to each other.

•12 The massive studies undertaken recently on languages throughout the world have revealed striking similarities among pidgin and creole languages which could not have had any prior genetic affiliation. For example, both Atlantic and Pacific creoles have a number of reduplicated

•12 words, restricted vocabularies, few morphological inflections, few redundancies, little embedding, and little allomorphic variation. In common with other languages, they have analytic negative markers, conjunctions, and aspect (Hall 1966, Hymes 1971, Kay and Sankoff 1972, Todd 1974).

Various theories such as the monogenetic attempt to explain the similarities through a common ancestor, possibly 'Sabir', a Portuguese lingua franca which was somehow circulated around the globe. The problem with this theory is comprehensiveness. It does not tell us where the grammar of the ancestor comes from. Other pidgins and creoles exist in the world which are not based on European languages and these pidgins and creoles also share some of the characteristics of European-based languages. Todd mentions in Africa pidgin versions of Ewondo, Hausa, Ngbandi, Zulu, Bemba and Swahili. In Papua one finds a pidginized version of Motu; and a pidginized Malay is widely used in Indonesia and Malaysia. She explains that Ewondo Populaire is one of the names given to a pidginized Ewondo spoken in the vicinity of Yaoundé in Cameroon. When compared with Ewondo it is seen to have a limited vocabulary, and a considerable reduction in inflection and grammatical contrasts commonly found in Bantu languages (Todd 1974:39-41). According to Todd, in standard Ewondo the negator is variable, but in Ewondo Populaire it is not and, like the negators in English-based pidgins, it follows the subject and precedes the verb

12 phrase or initiates a negative imperative sentence.

English	*Freetown Krio*	*Ewondo Populaire*
I do	a du	me bo
I don't do	a nɔ du	me ke bo
do	du	boo
don't do	nɔ du	ke boo
I did	a bin du	me nga bo
I didn't do	a nɔ bin du	me ke nga bo

Comparison of verb phrases (Todd 1974:41)

121 The polygenetic theory attempts to explain similarities among creoles through a spontaneous generation process where creoles are thought to have developed independently with influences from their parent languages. Some 121 polygenesis proponents such as Robert A. Hall, Jr. (1966) suggested that pidgins and creoles resulted from 'baby talk' 114 used by overseers to communicate with their servants. Consequently, the language which developed was simplified in grammatical and phonological structure. This theory is unsatisfactory for several reasons. (1) Early accounts indicate that the European overseers and their families were learning the creole from the servants and not vice versa (Dillard 1972:192); (2) if the European had improvised his own unique variety of baby talk to communicate with his servants, one would not be able to account for the fact that all French creoles are mutually intelligible and (3) the structural similarities shared by the Atlantic creoles of Spanish, French and English are too numerous for pure coincidence (DeCamp 1971:19).

121 the polar ends, but also features unique to itself. DeCamp's scale shows no representation of a speaker of Jamaican Creole and Standard Jamaican English. It is not known whether such a speaker exists.

Bickerton (1973:642) criticizes DeCamp's procedure. He says DeCamp constructed his scale randomly from different linguistic categories. He mixes phonological, syntactic, and lexical variables, thus making his analysis incommensurate with the study of formal linguistics. Phonological variables, Bickerton says, have a decisive influence on the selection of lexical and syntactic variables as in allegro speech. If DeCamp had confined analysis to linguistically related variables, Bickerton suggests that his description would have had more credibility and it would have been of more significance as a theory of variation and linguistic change.

•12 A final point that I would like to make concerning DeCamp's characterization of variation of a continuum is that he says that each speaker masters a span of the continuum, but that no speaker masters variety one and variety ten unless he also masters varieties two through nine. The criterion of mutual intelligibility gives some support to this claim. The fact that English-speaking tourists in Jamaica have difficulty understanding certain varieties of these creoles leads one to suspect that part of the continuum is English and part of it is Creole. What DeCamp did not say and leaves one to conjecture is that the span is semi-permeable depending on the speaker's production and

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•12 reception rules. Competence includes a speaker's ability to understand utterances beyond a level that he is able to perform. He may have the competence to understand several intermediate spans but he may have a production command only over varieties that are in close proximity.

To deal with the problem of competence and performance, Bickerton proposes a third approach to solving the problem of representing the mechanics of variation through the use of a continuum. He proposes a new metatheory based on abstract relationships existing in grammars. These abstract relations are used to show that variability stemming from competence simply results from the spread and evolution of language change through space and time. Like DeCamp's performance model, 'leaky grammars, variants that fit no system, conflicting native-speakers' intuitions, performance error—all the problems that vexed previous formulations' are seen as a segment of a multifacet holistic paradigm (Bickerton 1973:643).

To avoid DeCamp's errors, Bickerton develops a more sophisticated model by incorporating into his theory a system of rule changes accounting for intra- as well as inter-individual variation. He follows C.-J. Bailey's theory that rule changes never extend immediately to all categories, but begin in a very limited area, saturate it and then go on the the next category.

DeCamp found implicational relationships existing between speakers A, C, and B. Bickerton labeled this area

•12 a conflict, and called each conflict a stage in the progression of language change. He anticipated the speaker whose performance differed from that predicted by the competence model. He accounted for intra-individual variation by rule conflict: where at any given point in time a situation exists between speaker *A* who has a rule *X* and speaker *C* who has a rule *Y*, there exists a speaker *B* wherein application of rule *X* alternates with the application of rule *Y* (Bickerton 1973:643).

121 Washabaugh questions the bidirectionality of variation proposed by Bickerton and others. He suggests that variation in decreolization may be vertical, contrastive or horizontal depending on three social factors: (1) pressure to avoid the basilect, (2) pressure to acquire the acrolect, and (3) pressure to use a careful speech style for formal situations. The pressure to avoid the basilect is the strongest motive because speakers are not always aware of how they want to talk, but they have a keen perception of how they DO NOT want to talk. Washabaugh does not deny that variation is systemic. Rather, he suggests that it is directed by psychological as well as social and linguistic pressure (Washabaugh 1977:329-51).

The consultants in this study are shown to illustrate the theory and mechanics of these multidimensional variation of English verbs and pronouns. The quantitative measurement of fluctuation between English and Creole